

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-06

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0315

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SEOUL 3789

LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, KS

SUBJECT: CALL BY CONGRESSMEN DERWINSKI AND DANIELS ON  
PRESIDENT PARK.

SUMMARY: CONGRESSMEN DERWINSKI AND DANIELS MET MAY 26  
WITH PRESIDENT PARK, PRIME MINISTER KIM CHONG-P'IL,  
FOREIGN MINISTER KIM TONG-CHO, AND ASSEMBLY SPEAKER  
CHONG IL-KWON. CONVERSATIONS STRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT  
NORTH KOREAN THREAT WITH PRESIDENT PARK PROVIDING FURTHER  
EVIDENCE OF HIS CONTINUED DOUBTS OF DURABILITY OF US  
MILITARY PRESENCE AND HIS INTENTION TO EXERCISE CLOSE CONTROL  
OF INTERNAL POLITICS DUE TO KOREA'S "SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES."  
END SUMMARY.

1. DOMESTIC POLICIES: PRESIDENT PARK EVIDENCED THAT  
HE IS FOLLOWING FRASER SUB-COMMITTEE HEARINGS VERY CLOSELY,  
FOR EXAMPLE HE CRITICIZED FATHER SINNOT'S TESTIMONY THAT  
NORTH KOREAN TUNNEL DELIBERATELY EXPOSED JUST BEFORE PRESIDENT  
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FORD'S VISIT. HE CONSIDERED CONGRESSMAN FRASER'S VIEWS ON  
HUMAN RIGHTS BASED IN CONSIDERABLE PART ON MISUNDERSTANDING  
AND INFORMATION PROVIDED ONLY BY OPPOSITION ELEMENTS.  
CONGRESSMAN DERWINSKI SUGGESTED TEMPERING OF KOREAN DOMESTIC

POLICIES ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO BROADEN BASE OF CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC SUPPORT IN US. PRESIDENT PARK RESPONDED THAT WHILE HE PLACES VERY HIGH VALUE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, KOREA PRESENTLY FACES "SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES" IN VIEW NORTH KOREAN THREAT WHICH REQUIRE EFFECTIVE INTERNAL CONTROLS. HE URGED THEREFORE THAT KOREAN DEMOCRACY NOT BE JUDGED BY STANDARDS IN JAPAN AND US, POINTING OUT AS EXAMPLE IT NOT POSSIBLE IN KOREA TO PERMIT KOREAN COMMUNISTS TO ORGANIZE POLITICALLY AS IS CASE IN JAPAN.

2. US COMMITMENT: PRESIDENT PARK EXPRESSED GREATEST APPRECIATION FOR STATEMENTS REAFFIRMING US COMMITMENT BY PRESIDENT FORD, OTHER ADMINISTRATION LEADERS AND CONGRESS. HE SAID THAT HE PLACES UTMOST CONFIDENCE IN US. NEVERTHELES, HE REVERTED TO HIS BASIC THEME OF RECENT MONTHS, NAMELY THAT ROKG MUST PRIMARILY MEET COMMUNIST THREAT WITH ITS OWN STRENGTH AS US WILL EVENTUALLY WITHDRAW, EVEN THOUGH IT DOES NOT PLAN TO DO SO AT THE PRESENT TIME. HE URGED US TO EXPEDITE MODERNIZATION OF KOREAN FORCES WHILE ITS TROOPS REMAIN IN KOREA SO THAT KOREA COULD DEFEND ITSELF ALONE AFTER US WITHDREW.

3. NORTH KOREAN THREAT: PRESIDENT PARK EXPRESSED CONTINUED CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBILITY NORTH KOREAN ATTACK ON ROK. HIS OBJECTIVE IS TO PREVENT WAR BY BUILDING UP ROK MILITARY AND ECONOMIC POWER AS DETERRENT TO NORTH KOREAN ATTACK.

4. ON ONE HAND, PRESIDENT PARK SAID THAT NORTH KOREANS RECOGNIZE THEY CANNOT WIN WAR IF MET BY COMBINED US-ROK FORCES AND THEREFORE THEIR PRESENT OBJECTIVE IS TO FORCE US WITHDRAWAL. ON OTHER HAND PRESIDENT VIEWED KIM IL-SUNG AS PROVOCATIVE AND UNDER NO RESTRAINT FROM USSR OR PRC. ALTHOUGH NOT ENCOURAGED BY EITHER TO ATTACK ROK, HE SUSPECTED PRC DID NOT DISCOURAGE NORTH KOREAN SURPRISE ATTACK DUE TO SINO-SOVIET RIVALRY FOR INFLUENCE IN PYONGYAN. AS CONSEQUENCE PRESIDENT PARK BELIEVED KIM IL-SUNG LEFT PEKING WITH IMPRESSION OF IMPLICIT CHINESE SUPPORT, AFTER THE FACT, CONFIDENTIAL

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FOR AGGRESSIVE ACTION. AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT US LEADERS HAD GONE TO CONSIDERABLE LENGTHS TO WARN NORTH KOREA EXPLICITLY AND WE ASSUMED PRC AND USSR LIKewise WOULD WARN NORTH KOREA AGAINST ENGAGING IN CONFLICT INVOLVING US FORCES. US HAD SOUGHT TO MINIMIZE TO EXTENT POSSIBLE ANY RISK OF MISCALCULATION ON PART OF KIM IL-SUNG.

5. IN CALL ON PRIME MINISTER, CONGRESSMAN DERWINSKI GAVE STRONG ASSURANCE THAT ROK HAD MANY FIRM FRIENDS IN CONGRESS WHO WOULD SUPPORT RECENT ASSURANCES BY PRESIDENT FORD AND OTHERS OF US INTENTION TO LIVE UP TO ITS SECURITY COMMITMENTS TO KOREA. HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS YEAR'S FRASER COMMITTEE

HEARINGS WOULD PRODUCE ACTIONS ADVERSE TO KOREAN INTERESTS, BUT WARNED PRIMIN THAT CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE IN KOREA WAS WIDE-SPREAD WITHIN US CONGRESS AND OTHER CIRCLES. UNLESS SOME IMPROVEMENT COULD BE SEEN, EVENTUAL RESULT MIGHT WELL BE EROSION OF US PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR KOREA WHICH WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR USG TO MAINTAIN ITS POSITION HERE. DERWINSKI NOTED THAT HE IS WELL-KNOWN AS STRONGLY ANTI-COMMUNIST, BUT THAT HE IS ALSO CATHOLIC WHO REPRESENTS HEAVILY CATHOLIC CONSTITUENCY. ACTIONS TAKEN BY ROKG AGAINST CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND DOMESTIC KOREAN HIERARCHY, EVEN WHILE JUSTIFIABLE, IN LIGHT OF ROK LAWS, ARE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO HIS CONSTITUENTS. PRIMIN ASSURED CONGRESSMAN THAT ONLY RESTRAINTS PLACED ON RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN ROK RELATE TO POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND THAT ROKG WAS MINDFUL OF PROBLEMS OF NATURE DERWINSKI HAD DESCRIBED.

6. ASSEMBLY SPEAKER CHONG IL-KWON DESCRIBED HIS RECENT TRIP TO EUROPE AND THE US, COMMENTING IN SOME DETAIL ON ANXIETY EXPRESSED BY WEST GERMAN CONTACTS IN PARTICULAR ABOUT POSSIBILITY THAT US, IN WAKE OF INDOCHINA DEBACLE, MIGHT BE INCLINED TO WEAKEN ITS SECURITY COMMITMENT TO KOREA. CHONG ALSO MADE FIRM PREDICTION THAT, SHOULD US WITHDRAW FORCES FROM KOREA, NORTH KOREANS WOULD ATTACK. HE CLAIMED THAT CHINA HAD FALLEN AFTER US REDUCED ITS COMMITMENTS TO CHIANG-KAI SHEK AND THAT CAMBODIA, LAOS AND VIETNAM HAD FALLEN TO COMMUNISTS WITHIN TWO YEARS OF US FORCES WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTH EAST  
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ASIA. HE SAID KIM IL SUNG'S CURRENT TACTIC IS TO FORCE US WITHDRAWAL FROM ROK IN ANTICIPATION OF SUBSEQUENT NORTH KOREAN CONQUEST. WHILE KOREANS DO ALL THEY COULD TO DEVELOP SELF-RELIANT POSTURE, REAL THREAT OF ATTACK IS WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES. CHONG WAS ALSO LAVISH IN PRAISE OF DERWINSKI'S EFFORTS AT VARIOUS INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION MEETINGS TO FURTHER ROK CAUSE.

7. CALL ON FONMIN KIM DONG-JO DID NOT DEAL WITH SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS, ALTHOUGH FONMIN DID STRESS TO CONGRESSEMAN ROKG CONCERN OVER POSSIBILITY THAT DPRK MIGHT BE ADMITTED TO FORTHCOMING NON-ALIGNED MEETINGS AND THAT THIS WOULD CAUSE GREAT DIFFICULTIES FOR ROK IN FORTHCOMING UNGA DEBATES.  
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